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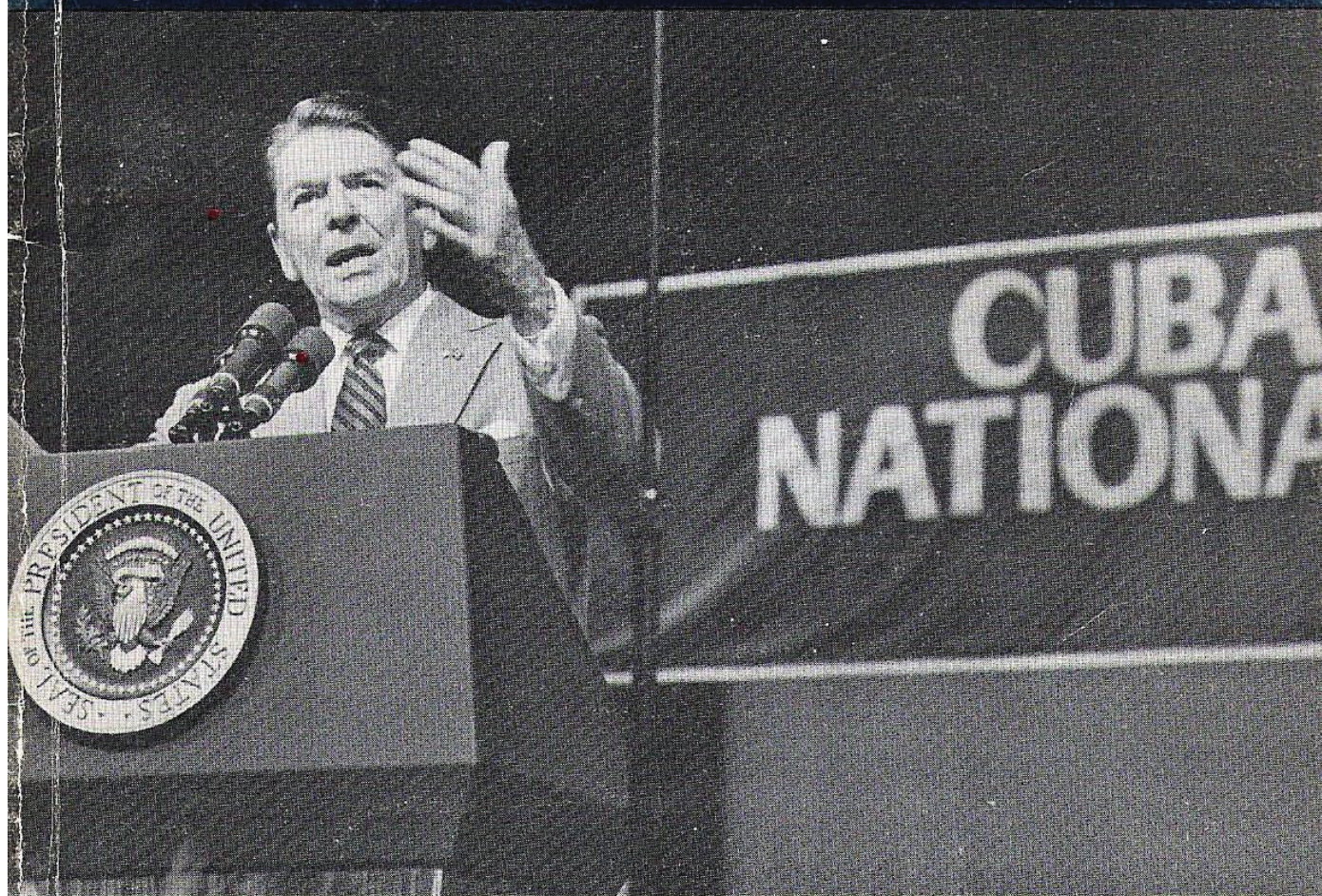
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1986

REAGAN ON CUBA

**Selected Statements
by the President**

With a Foreword by Vice-President George Bush



The Cuban American National Foundation

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CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION

The Cuban American National Foundation is an independent, non-profit institution devoted to the gathering and dissemination of data about economic, political and social issues of the Cuban people, both on the island and in exile. The Foundation supports the concept of a free and democratic Cuba, and promotes an objective view of Cuba and Cubans, and an objective appraisal of the Cuban government and its policies.

The Foundation supports a general program to enlighten and clarify public opinion on problems of Cuban concern, to fight bigotry, protect human rights, and promote cultural interests and creative achievement.

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The Cuban-American National Foundation
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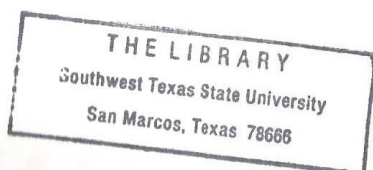


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FOREWORD

Cuban-Americans serve as outstanding reminders of what democracy and independence mean.

Many Cuban-Americans can speak first-hand of the effect that terror and repression have on freedom and democracy. The contrast between their lives in Cuba and in America is stark. Cubans in Havana live in social and economic chains. Cubans in Miami live in freedom. Cubans in Havana live in a dying economy that offers them no hope of opportunity. Cubans in Miami have built one of the most vibrant and thriving communities in our hemisphere. The stories of success that resound in the Cuban-American community herald the fruits of democracy.

These stories stand in dramatic contrast to the miserable system that exists in Cuba today under this Hemisphere's main symbol of communist oppression—Fidel Castro.

The success stories of Cuban-Americans and their contributions to our society reestablish in all Americans a faith in our country and the democratic system. These same stories of success provide a shining example to the rest of the world that opportunity, independence, creativity and prosperity are the merits of democracy.

President Reagan speaks eloquently of the Cuban people in this book. He states the case squarely for pursuing freedom around the world, for championing democracy in all hemispheres, and for standing up for democratic principles. The Cuban people believe in these pursuits. Our President has fought to ensure the opportunity for democracy to flourish throughout the world.

George Bush
Vice President of
The United States

CASTRO'S GAMES

I think most of us hold to a belief that Russia under the Czars was a land left behind by the industrial revolution; an almost medieval society made up of masses of illiterate peasantry held in bondage by a thin crust of rich, luxury-loving aristocrats.

Coincident with this then is the assumption that bad as conditions are under Soviet rule the people are infinitely better off than they were. That may be true but are they better off than they might have been if the Czars had continued to rule for these last 59 years? A little known fact is that the greatest trend of growth in Russia, expansion of industry, production of steel, etc., took place between 1900 and 1915. Communism came in 1917 and it took decades for Russia to get back up to some of the production levels of 1915.

William Buckley in his magazine *National Review* has recently replied to some present day propagandists who would have us believe Castro's Cuba is a modern version of that Russian fairy tale. We've had some of our more liberal Senators visit Cuba in the interest of normalizing relations between our two countries. A former campaign aide to McGovern is now a kind of agent through whom American business firms can make contact with Castro. And, Frank Mankiewicz has written a book extolling the great advance of Cuba under Castro.

Now Bill Buckley recounts a story that exposes all this make believe. He tells of a young Panamanian banker who had business of some kind to transact in Cuba. He had arranged through contacts to meet with Fidel Castro, which was essential to the success of his trip.

The young business man spent two weeks studying the "pre-Castro" Cuba. In addition to this homework he visited with Cuban refugees, getting all the details he could; figures, places, descriptions of various locales, etc.

He had learned also that Castro played games with regard to appointments keeping his visitor guessing as to when the meeting would take place. So he spent his time touring Havana and the countryside visiting medical clinics, schools, and stores. As Bill Buckley tells it, he tucked all manner of information, facts, and figures away in his memory bank.

Castro, it seems, has a taste for calling a meeting, at say, 2 o'clock in the morning with no more warning than a knock on the door. Our young banker was ready for that. He retired at 8 o'clock and sure enough at 2 AM was roused out of bed to meet Castro and his entire cabinet. But having retired early he was ready. Castro began the same

routine that so impressed some of our Senators. It didn't impress the young Panamanian. Politely but firmly, he refuted every claim the dictator made. He had the pre-revolution statistics, he had his own observations from his tour around the city, and he challenged everything from the teacher-pupil ratio to the availability of food stuffs.

Castro was squirming, his cabinet was helpless. Finally he drew out a copy of Frank Mankiewicz' book and presented it to his visitor — who promptly gave it right back. He'd already read it and he could refute that, too. I don't know what business the banker was on, but I wonder if he'd like to be Secretary of State? This is Ronald Reagan. Thanks for listening.

CASTRO IN AFRICA

The United States Senators from South Dakota, George McGovern and James Abourezk, should be congratulated on their ability to hide their disappointment while the University of South Dakota basketball team was losing two games in a row to a Cuban All-Star team. As a matter of fact, they managed to look practically ecstatic.

The game was evidently the result of a meeting between Senator McGovern and Fidel Castro, in which the Senator found the Cuban dictator to be a charming, friendly, well informed fellow. It sort of reminds you of how we discovered that Joseph Stalin was good-old-Uncle Joe, shortly before he stole, among other things, our nuclear secrets.

Then the other day, one of our leading metropolitan papers editorialized about how wrong it has been for the United States to be unfriendly to this island neighbor 90 miles off the Florida coast. And how right it is that we should be restoring trade relations. Oh sure, Castro has some 15,000 troops stirring up trouble in Africa and he *did* visit Africa himself, but the fact that this visit coincided with that of Soviet President Podgorny — well it's a small world.

The month was March, and Fidel Castro boarded a Russian supersonic plane and flew off, first to Algeria and then on a tour of Libya, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Somalia, Tanzania and, of course, Angola. It was also March when military forces armed with Russian-made weapons, and trained in their use by Cuban soldiers, advanced across the border into Zaire. The invasion was into the Shaba province which is literally a treasure house of copper, uranium and cobalt.

On March 22, Soviet President Podgorny, with a staff of 120, arrived in Tanzania also by way of a Russian supersonic transport. He spent several days in mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. He then flew to Zambia and Mozambique. It is unrealistic for us to fail to recognize the Soviet Union has opened a new stage in its campaign to achieve strategic dominance over Africa with all its mineral riches.

Mozambique, a home base for the terrorists who slaughter innocent villagers in Rhodesia, has declared itself dedicated to the goal of becoming a Marxist-Leninist state. Angola's conquerors, the M.P.L.A., are following suit, bolstered by Castro's thousands of mercenaries.

President Podgorny stood on the bank of the Zambesi River looking toward Rhodesia and proclaimed that, "Together with the Republic of Zambia and other progressive African states, the Soviet Union stands on the same side as the peoples of Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa." Of course, in those latter three countries, he didn't

A radio address by Ronald Reagan, May 16, 1977.

explain that the people he stands with — the revolutionaries and terrorists — are not the majority.

In Lusaka he met for several hours with the leaders of the groups carrying on terrorist, guerilla attacks and pledged that the Soviet Union, "will permanently support the first struggle of the fighters of Southern Africa."

Castro got back in time for the basketball games, and now we're talking about sending a baseball team to Cuba. That's only part of our response to this Soviet-Cuban assault on Africa. We've removed all obstacles to American travel to Cuba and we are negotiating, or at least discussing, re-opening of trade and political relations with the Cuban government. And, oh yes! We've ordered a halt to buying chrome from Rhodesia. It looks like we're going to lose more than a basketball game before the foolishness ends.

This is Ronald Reagan. Thanks for listening.

CASTRO'S POLITICAL PRISONERS

A short time ago, I addressed the Foreign Policy Association in New York, giving my views on the international situation. Knowing I'd make reference to Cuba, I contacted some noted scholars and asked for the latest information on Castro's political prisoners. Word was returned to me that Amnesty International estimated their number at 80,000.

With confidence in the source, I used that figure in my remarks. It was challenged by a questioner who said his information had also come from Amnesty International and they had put the number of political prisoners in Cuba at four or five thousand. Now, that isn't exactly the kind of situation a luncheon speaker looks forward to. All I could do was to explain how I'd obtained my figure and say I'd re-check with my source — which I did before the afternoon was over.

Let me reiterate the scholars I had consulted are connected with a most prestigious institution renowned for its studies on world affairs. They checked with their Amnesty International source and learned a typographical error had been made and the 80,000 should have been 60,000. Well, that's understandable and still left me in a better position than my questioner. But, then came other views all from within Amnesty International. The staff member who said 60,000 was disputed by others in the shop. Finally, they came up with something of a consensus that the figure was somewhere between two and twenty thousand. If whoever is in charge in Cuba can't do better than that, he must have trouble when it comes to providing meals for the inmates.

But maybe this is our problem when we try to cut through the curtains surrounding communism's closed societies. Not too long ago, a slender, soft-spoken, gray-haired lady addressed a large audience at Dartmouth College. I'm inclined to believe she speaks with greater authority than Amnesty International or those recent visitors to Cuba such as George McGovern who came home warmed by Castro's hospitality.

The lady, Anna Galbis, once held high positions in the Castro regime. She was studying in Paris (political science) when Castro came to power. Returning to Cuba, she supported the new government enthusiastically and served in the Cuban embassy in Washington; also in Peking. Later, she held a part in the Ministry of Armed Defense and was a translator and interpreter at international Marxist congresses held in Havana.

Yes, she is soft-spoken but her words aren't soft. Completely disil-

A radio address by Ronald Reagan, June 25 through July 15, 1977.

lusioned, Anna Galbis likens all of Cuba to a prison except for the "showcases" foreign (make that American) visitors are taken to. Each Cuban is allowed three-quarters of a pound of meat every 10 days, 10 ounces of beans and three cans of condensed milk per month. Cuba's renowned seafood is processed for shipment to Russia. She makes it plain this diet does not apply to the Party leadership who drive Alfa Romeo cars.

Her disillusionment came in 1969. She applied for an exit visa and immediately lost her job and became an outcast for several years, eking out a living by tutoring in English and French. Finally, by way of relatives in Spain and the fact that she held American citizenship through her father, she was able to leave the workers' paradise. Anna Galbis says there are 50,000 political prisoners languishing in 56 Cuban prisons, 26 concentration camps and 108 prison farms.

CASTRO'S MEN IN HANOI

Since the administration announced (in the interest of human rights, no doubt) that we were going to normalize relations with Castro's Cuba, wondrous things have happened. They've beaten us in a basketball game, American businessmen tour Havana, dreaming of branch offices and new sales territories, and the wife of one of them tweaks Fidel's beard and finds him "cute."

Senator George McGovern and the Cuban dictator munch ice cream cones together and the Senator discovers Fidel is a personable, well-informed fellow. Apparently, he's better informed than the Senator, who shows no sign of knowing that the 15,000 Cuban mercenaries in Africa are only the tip of an iceberg. "West Watch," quarterly journal of the Council for Inter-American Security says Cuban agents have been active on the continent for more than 10 years and it lists 14 African states where they are operating. British journalist Robert Moss estimates there are more than 20,000 (not 15) in Angola and gives specifics on their Russian arms which include everything from heavy tanks to multiple rocket launchers and MIG fighter planes.

If all of the testimony available on Cuba's long time support of so-called liberation movements is added up, there are 25 to 30,000 Cubans in Africa, and many hundreds more have operated in the past or still are operating in Jamaica, Panama, Portugal, Vietnam and North Korea. They have trained exiles who attempted to launch guerilla warfare in the Dominican Republic as well as the terrorists who plague Argentina. Bayard Rustin, writing in "New America," a socialist journal, describes Cuba as doing the Soviet's dirty work in Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America.

But what should be the most difficult thing for Americans to swallow is the testimony of our own former war prisoners in Vietnam. It is bad enough that we rewarded their years of suffering and their heroism by ducking out on our allies; surely they are entitled to be heard on the subject of Cuba. So far the national press has said nothing about their shocked disbelief that we could be negotiating with Castro.

Colonel George E. Day, former P.O.W. and holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor, has written that Cuban embassy officials in Hanoi inflicted some of the worst tortures on our men. They sold the North Vietnamese the idea they were experts on brainwashing and could re-educate a dozen American servicemen so they would come

A Radio Address by Ronald Reagan, September 19 through October 7, 1977.

home preaching the Communist line. When brainwashing failed, they turned to plain brutality.

Colonel Day tells of one of our Airmen who was raped, bullied and tortured for 24 hours until his mind was gone. Then he was subjected to electric shock treatments with an antiquated machine that not only left massive burns on his arms and head but also finished off what was left of his brain.

He was last seen by his fellow prisoners in October, 1970. Whether murdered, or just left to die, he never returned. Colonel Day writes with regard to recognizing Cuba that he is, "appalled, amazed and frightened", that men such as Senator McGovern, Andrew Young and President Carter "would have the uncommon, bad judgement and poor sense of responsibility to Americans to aid the cause of these international outlaws."

To forgive is divine but not while Castro is arrogantly declaring (as he did a few weeks ago) that he has no intention of halting his efforts to bring terror and revolution to the world.

FIDEL CASTRO: DENOUNCED BY HIS OWN SISTER

The tourist traffic to Cuba is increasing. Most recent visitor to the island, traveling in an air force jet was U.S. Senator Frank Church. He spent four days with Fidel Castro and departed for home saying, "I leave with the impression I have found a friend."

Lest we lose our perspective with so many carefully staged Cuban tours recently, let me read a letter written to President Carter by the exiled sister of the Cuban dictator.

"My name is Juanita Castro. I am the sister of the communist dictator of Cuba, Fidel Castro. However, I am also a Cuban woman in exile who loves her country and has put its liberation above personal gain and family ties. I have chosen liberty, Christianity and patriotism over slavery, atheism and treason. You, Mr. President, must now choose how your name will go down in history. I speak to your conscience and through it to the American people."

"I come to remind you of those killed by Communist Cuba's firing squads for trying to be free. I come to remind you of Communist Cuba's concentration camps and jails where torture and murder are everyday occurrences. I come to remind you of the enslaved people of Cuba, muted by terror and waiting, hoping, struggling for liberation."

"I come to tell you that those who state that the lifting of economic sanctions against Cuba and the establishment of relations with its communist government do not constitute condoning or accepting its actions, are wrong. This argument would not have stood up to the realities of an Auschwitz or a Dachau under Hitler's Germany and ring hollow and bankrupt before the realities of their counterpart in communist Cuba."

"I come to ask you why, after your pronouncements concerning human rights, you do not vigorously advocate that these be respected in Cuba before even trying to renew relations of any kind with the Communist government of Havana."

"I come to remind you of the Congressional resolution of October 3, 1962 and of the innumerable conventions, doctrines and treaties that oppose such action. I come to remind you, Mr. President, of that day in Florida when you shouted, 'Democracy, yes; Castro, no.'"

"Last but not least, I come to warn you, Mr. President, that my brother, Fidel Castro, and the international communism he repre-

sents are not interested in this country's friendship, but only in the economic gain that would accrue to his regime from this move and in the increase of his political prestige that such action would bring."

"At the beginning of your War of Independence in 1775, Benjamin Franklin wrote to his old friend in England, William Strahan: 'Look upon your hands! They are stained with the blood of your relations!' Mr. President, I submit that your decision in this matter might well determine if you will ever again be able to look at yours."

Juanita Castro's letter was addressed to the President, but, in truth, it was written to all of us, and all of us must be a part of the answer. Has Senator Church, or any of us for that matter, "found a friend?"

THE RUSSIANS, CUBANS AND SALT

Why are the Russians in Cuba?

Is it part of a swap, a *quid pro quo*, in which the Russians garrison troops on the island in exchange for Cuba's commitment to station its armed forces as Soviet surrogates in African and Middle Eastern nations?

Is it defensive, in expectation of a U.S. invasion?

Is it defensive in another way, to protect Russian aircraft and submarines — even nuclear weapons?

Is it symbolic to show the U.S. just how potent and global the Soviet military capacity really is?

Is it symbolic in another way, to help Castro encourage radical insurrections in Central America?

It may be a combination of these or it may be, as the saying goes, "all of the above." What is certain is that the troops are there, some two to three thousand of them. And, what is beginning to be known is that they are the "tip of the iceberg" in terms of Russian presence in Cuba.

A close student of Latin America in general and Cuba in particular, a Washington-based scholar, was asked the other day what the U.S. government is likely to do about the situation (the Vance-Dobrynin talks had not yet begun). He said: "Look for some negotiating designed to remove the visual symbol of the problem — Russian combat troops — while pretending the rest of the problem doesn't exist. If that is done, we'll be told that all obstacles to ratification of the Strategic Arms Limitation treaty — SALT II — have been removed."

"This will be designed to get several senators off the hook who want to vote for the SALT treaty but are worried about doing so in light of the revelation about the Soviet troops."

What are the true dimensions of the Soviet presence in Cuba? It now appears that west of Havana they have built a complex and sophisticated monitoring and intelligence-gathering station somewhat like the ones we had in Iran. It has been built on top of a bunker that can hold a large number of personnel. Then, at Cienfuegos, the Russians are building what will become a major naval installation. The implication is that construction of these facilities could not have gone unnoticed by our own intelligence organizations and that our government is thus aware of the scope of the problem. Are they willing to ignore it in order to get a "quick fix" on a SALT treaty vote? It remains to be seen, but the signs point that way. In fact, a Washing-

ton newspaper last week reported that an unnamed senior intelligence officer said his superior told him repeatedly, "We've got to save SALT. Whatever you do keep that in mind."

Taken in context, the fact that the Russians have rooted themselves so stubbornly in Cuban soil tells us a lot about what they think of our resolve and our position in the world. And it points up the folly of debating SALT in the absence of a long-range U.S. global policy. The SALT II treaty, which is more an arms-increase than an arms-limitation measure, is a continuation of a process that was hoped to bring arms reduction and new reason to U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations, but instead brought a huge Russian military buildup intended to put them ahead of us and our allies.

SALT II should be set aside, not only till the Russian troops clear out of Cuba, but also until we know where we are going.

THE SORDID PROMISES OF COMMUNISM

... The events of the last several years dramatize two different futures which are possible for the Caribbean area: either the establishment or restoration of moderate, constitutional governments with economic growth and improved living standards, or further expansion of political violence from the extreme left and the extreme right, resulting in the imposition of dictatorships and, inevitably, more economic decline and human suffering.

The positive opportunity is illustrated by the two-thirds of the nations in the area which have democratic governments. The dark future is foreshadowed by the poverty and repression of Castro's Cuba, the tightening grip of the totalitarian left in Grenada and Nicaragua, and the expansion of Soviet-backed, Cuban-managed support for violent revolution in Central America.

The record is clear. Nowhere in its whole sordid history have the promises of communism been redeemed. Everywhere it has exploited and aggravated temporary economic suffering to seize power and then to institutionalize economic deprivation and suppress human rights. Right now, 6 million people worldwide are refugees from Communist systems. Already, more than a million Cubans alone have fled communist tyranny.

Our economic and social program cannot work if our neighbors cannot pursue their own economic and political future in peace, but must divert their resources, instead, to fight imported terrorism and armed attack. Economic progress cannot be made while guerillas systematically burn, bomb and destroy bridges, farms and power and transportation systems—all with the deliberate intention of worsening economic and social problems in hopes of radicalizing already suffering people.

Our Caribbean neighbors' peaceful attempts to develop are feared by the foes of freedom, because their success will make the radical message a hollow one. Cuba and its Soviet backers know this. Since 1978, Havana has trained, armed and directed extremists in guerilla warfare and economic sabotage as part of a campaign to exploit troubles in Central America and the Caribbean. Their goal is to establish Cuban-style, Marxist-Leninist dictatorships.

Last year (1981), Cuba received 66,000 tons of war supplies from the Soviet Union, more than in any year since the 1962 missile crisis. Last month (January, 1982), the arrival of additional high-performance

From Remarks on the Caribbean Basin Initiative before The Permanent Council of the Organization of American States, February 24, 1982.

MiG-23 Floggers gave Cuba an arsenal of more than 200 Soviet warplanes—far more than the military aircraft inventories of all other Caribbean Basin countries combined . . .

. . . A determined propaganda campaign has sought to mislead many in Europe and certainly many in the United States as to the true nature of the conflict in El Salvador. Very simply, guerillas, armed and supported by and through Cuba, are attempting to impose a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship on the people of El Salvador as part of a larger imperialistic plan. If we do not act promptly and decisively in defense of freedom, new Cubas will arise from the ruins of today's conflicts. We will face more totalitarian regimes tied militarily to the Soviet Union—more regimes exporting subversion, more regimes so incompetent yet so totalitarian that their citizens' only hope becomes that of one day migrating to other American nations, as in recent years they have come to the United States . . . The United States will work closely with other concerned democracies inside and outside the area to preserve and enhance our common democratic values.

We will not, however, follow Cuba's lead in attempting to resolve human problems by brute force. Our economic assistance, including the provisions that are part of the program I've just outlined, is more than five times the amount of our security assistance. The thrust of our aid is to help our neighbors realize freedom, justice and economic progress.

We seek to exclude no one. Some, however, have turned from their American neighbors and their heritage. Let them return to the traditions and common values of this hemisphere, and we all will welcome them. The choice is theirs . . .

We return to a common vision. Nearly a century ago a great citizen of the Caribbean and the Americas, Jose Martí, warned that, "Mankind is composed of two sorts of men, those who love and create and those who hate and destroy." Today, more than ever, the compassionate, creative peoples of the Americas have an opportunity to stand together, to overcome injustice, hatred and oppression, and to build a better life for all the Americas.

I have always believed that this hemisphere was a special place with a special destiny. I believe we are destined to be the beacon of hope for all mankind. With God's help, we can make it so. We can create a peaceful, free, and prospering hemisphere based on our shared ideals and reaching from pole to pole of what we proudly call the New World.

Thank you.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN CUBA?

Q: Mr. President, Leonid Brezhnev the other day implied that if the U.S. went ahead with the Pershing II missiles—the ground-launched cruise missiles—that he would take some kind of retaliatory step. Did you interpret this as a threat? And if so, how are you responding to him in private, or how do you plan to respond to him?

The President: Well, I know that we're looking at all these various statements and so forth and analyzing them to see what they may mean. Frankly, I myself am inclined to believe that this is just part of the dialogue that goes on and part of a kind of a propaganda campaign that is aimed at making them look like the peacemakers and as if we're the seekers of war. And that is completely contrary to the fact.

Q: But, sir, he's implying—if I may follow up—that he would perhaps install nuclear weapons in this hemisphere. If that's the case, how would you respond?

The President: The only place that he could install them in this hemisphere would be in Cuba, which is his satellite now, although they're working up to where it might be Nicaragua—also considered that. But this would be in total violation of, even though there have been other things we think are violations also in the 1962 agreement, at the time of the missile crisis. And then there are options open to us that I would prefer not to discuss, because, as you know, I don't like to discuss the things that we could or might or might not do.

From the President's News Conference, March 31, 1982.

ON NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH CUBA

Q: Will there be normalized relationships between the United States and Cuba sometime in your administration? What would that take?

The President: What it would take is Fidel Castro, recognizing that he made the wrong choice quite a while ago, and that he sincerely and honestly wants to rejoin the family of American nations and become a part of the Western Hemisphere and the American nations again. And it would take more than words. I think there are some deeds that if he performed those deeds it would prove his sincerity. And no one would welcome him more than we would.

From an Interview with Editors and Broadcasters from Mid-Western States, April 30, 1982.

MEETING CASTRO'S CHALLENGE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

... Late last year, I visited Central America. Just a few weeks ago, our Ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick, also toured the area. And in the last few days, I have met with leaders of the Congress to discuss recent events in Central America and our policies in that troubled part of the world. So, today, I'd like to report to you on these consultations and why they're important to all of us.

The nations of Central America are among our nearest neighbors. El Salvador, for example, is nearer to Texas than Texas is to Massachusetts. Central America is simply too close, and the strategic stakes are too high, for us to ignore the danger of governments seizing power there with ideological and military ties to the Soviet Union.

Now, let me just show you how important Central America is. Here — (referring to a map) — and you can't see it from over there because I'm in the way — but here at the base of Central America is the Panama Canal. Half of all the foreign trade of the United States passes through either the canal — (laughter) I've been dying to give you all an economic lesson, and you show up for geography. (Laughter and applause) But as I say, half of that trade passes either through the canal or the other Caribbean searoutes on its way to or from our ports.

And, of course, to the north, as you can see, is Mexico, a country of enormous human and material importance with which we share 1,800 miles of peaceful frontier.

And between Mexico and the Canal lies Central America. As I speak to you today, its countries are in the midst of the gravest crisis in their history. Accumulated grievances and social and economic change are challenging traditional ways. New leaders with new aspirations have emerged who want a new and better deal for their peoples. And that is good.

The problem is that an aggressive minority has thrown in its lot with the Communists, looking to the Soviets and their own Cuban henchmen to help them pursue political change through violence. Nicaragua, right here, has become their base. And these extremists make no secret of their goal. They preach the doctrine of a "revolution without frontiers." Their first target is El Salvador.

Important? Well, to begin with, there's the sheer human tragedy. Thousands of people have already died and, unless the conflict is

ended democratically, millions more could be affected throughout the hemisphere. The people of El Salvador have proved they want democracy. But if guerilla violence succeeds, they won't get it. El Salvador will join Cuba and Nicaragua as a base for spreading fresh violence to Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica — probably the most democratic country in the world today. The killing will increase and so will the threat to Panama, the canal and, ultimately, Mexico. In the process, vast numbers of men, women, and children will lose their homes, their countries, and their lives.

Make no mistake. We want the same thing the people of Central America want — an end to the killing. We want to see freedom preserved where it now exists and its rebirth where it does not. The Communist agenda, on the other hand, is to exploit human suffering in Central America to strike at the heart of the Western Hemisphere. By preventing reform and instilling their own brand of totalitarianism, they can threaten freedom and peace and weaken our national security.

I know a good many people wonder why we should care about whether Communist governments come into power in Nicaragua, El Salvador, or other such countries as Costa Rica and Honduras, Guatemala, and the islands of the Caribbean. One columnist argued last week that we shouldn't care, because their products are not that vital to our economy. That's like the argument of another so-called expert that we shouldn't worry about Castro's control over the island of Grenada — their only important product is nutmeg.

Well, let me just interject right here. Grenada, that tiny little island — with Cuba at the west end of the Caribbean, Grenada at the east end — that tiny little island is building now, or having built for it, on its soil and shores, a naval base, a superior air base, storage bases and facilities for the storage of munitions, barracks, and training grounds for the military. I'm sure all of that is simply to encourage the export of nutmeg.

People who make these arguments haven't taken a good look at a map lately or followed the extraordinary buildup of Soviet and Cuban military power in the region or read the Soviets' discussions about why the region is important to them and how they intend to use it.

It isn't nutmeg that's at stake in the Caribbean and Central America; it is the United States' national security.

Soviet military theorists want to destroy our capacity to resupply Western Europe in case of an emergency. They want to tie down our attention and forces on our own southern border and so limit our capacity to act in more distant places, such as Europe, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Sea of Japan.

Remarks on Cuba, Central America and El Salvador at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, Washington Hilton Hotel, March 10, 1983.

Those Soviet theorists noticed what we failed to notice; that the Caribbean Sea and Central America constitute this nation's fourth border. If we must defend ourselves against large, hostile military presence on our border, our freedom to act elsewhere to help others and to protect strategically vital seaports and resources has been drastically diminished. They know this; they've written about this.

We've been slow to understand that the defense of the Caribbean and Central America against Marxist-Leninist takeover is vital to our national security in ways we're not accustomed to thinking about.

For the past 3 years, under two Presidents, the United States has been engaged in an effort to stop the advance of communism in Central America by doing what we do best—by supporting democracy. For 3 years, our goal has been to support fundamental change in this region, to replace poverty with development and dictatorship with democracy.

These objectives are not easy to obtain. We're on the right track. Costa Rica continues to set a democratic example, even in the midst of economic crises and Nicaraguan intimidation. Honduras has gone from military rule to a freely elected civilian government. Despite incredible obstacles, the democratic center is holding in El Salvador, implementing land reform and working to replace the politics of death with a life of democracy.

So, the good news is that our new policies have begun to work. Democracy, with free election, free labor unions, freedom of religion and respect for the integrity of the individual, is the clear choice of the overwhelming majority of Central Americans. In fact, except for Cuba and its followers, no government and no significant sector of the public anywhere in this hemisphere wants to see the guerrillas seize power in El Salvador.

The bad news is that the struggle for democracy is still far from over. Despite their success in largely eliminating guerrilla political influence in populated areas, and despite some improvements in military armaments and mobility, El Salvador's people remain under strong pressure from armed guerrillas controlled by extremists with Cuban-Soviet support . . .

WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WHEN PEOPLE ARE FREE

Thank you. Thank you all very much. Senator Hawkins, Members of Congress, Jorge Mas, Carlos Salman, ladies and gentlemen:

It's a great pleasure for me to be with a group of Americans who have demonstrated how much can be accomplished when people are free. Many of you arrived in this country with little more than the shirts on your backs and a desire to improve your well-being and that of your family. You came with a willingness to work and, yes, a consuming passion for liberty. There's a name for this kind of spirit. It's called the American spirit, and there's no limit to what it can do.

But let me interrupt myself here and say something about that American spirit. We could also say it's a Western Hemisphere spirit, because one of the great, unique things about this Western Hemisphere is that in all of our countries—yours, from the islands of the Caribbean to South, to Central America, and to North America, from the South Pole to the North Pole, with all of our countries, we can cross the boundary line into another country, and we're still surrounded by Americans, because we are all Americans here in the Western Hemisphere.

Examples of this spirit abound. Jorge Mas, chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation, came here 20 years ago, worked as a milkman to support himself. Today, he owns a construction company that provides hundreds of people with meaningful employment. And when he isn't running his company, he's immersed in activities like this one, trying to protect the freedom that has been so important in his life. Jorge Mas, thank you for all that you've done and all you're doing.

But Jorge's success story is no isolated example. There are so many. You know them—people like Armando Codina who came here alone as a child, his parents unable to leave Cuba, so he was sent to an orphanage and then to a foster home. It took courage for this little boy to begin his new life. But now, at 35, he has a string of business accomplishments of which any individual many years his senior would be proud.

The world renowned ballet dancer, Fernando Bujones, is a Cuban American.

In my administration, we have Jose Manuel Casanova. He is the United States Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank.

Cuban Independence Day Remarks at a Cuban American National Foundation function in Miami, Florida, Dade County Auditorium, May 20, 1983.

And I have an announcement to make today that concerns another outstanding Cuban American, Dr. Jose Sorzano. He is currently our Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. He's a distinguished scholar, specializing in political philosophy, history, and Latin America. And I want you to know—to be the first to know—that I intend to nominate Dr. Sorzano to be one of our nation's highest diplomats, to the post of Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations.

One of the TV cameramen with us today is Eduardo Suarez. He came to America just a few short years ago and recently won a Florida Emmy for his excellence as a television news photographer. Eduardo, congratulations.

The list goes on and on. People from every walk of life, of every race and family background, have made their mark in just about every corner of American society. A few months ago, I was honored to welcome to the White House a famous runner, Alberto Salazar. I didn't know what to say. He gave me a pair of running shoes—(laughter)—but I'm not sure what kind of a race he wanted me to run in. (Laughter)

Clearly, this country in America, the United States, has been good for you. But you have also been good for all of America and for the United States and for Miami. And I add, and for Miami. Twenty-five years ago, there were those who thought Miami had reached its peak and was on the way down. The economy seemed stagnant. There was little hope in sight. Today, Miami is a vibrant international center, a gateway to Latin America.

The stark contrast between your life and that of the neighbors and loved ones that you left behind in Cuba stands as evidence to the relationship between freedom and prosperity.

About 10 million people still live in Cuba, as compared to about 1 million Cuban Americans—people with the same traditions and cultural heritage, yet the Cubans in the United States, with only one-tenth the number, produce almost two times the wealth of those they left behind. So, don't let anyone fool you: What's happening in Cuba is not a failure of the Cuban people; it's a failure of Fidel Castro and of communism.

The Soviet Union with all its military might, with its massive subsidy of the Cuban economy, can't make the system produce anything but repression and terror.

It reminds me of the story—I happen to collect stories that the Soviet people are telling each other, the Russian people. It indicates their cynicism with their own system. This is a story of a commissar who visited one of their collective farms, and he stopped the first

farmer, workman that he met, and he asked about life on the farm. And the man said, "It's wonderful I've never heard anyone complain about anything since I've been here." And the commissar then said, "Well, what about the crops?" "Oh," he said, "the crops are wonderful." "What about the potatoes?" "Oh, sir," he said, "the potatoes," he said, "there are so many that if we put them in one pile they would touch the foot of God." And the commissar said, "Just a minute. In the Soviet Union there is no God." And the farmer said, "Well, there are no potatoes either." (Laughter)

Cuban Americans understand perhaps better than many of their fellow citizens that freedom is not just the heritage of the people of the United States. It is the birthright of the people of this hemisphere. We in the Americas are descended from hearty souls—pioneers, men and women with the courage to leave the familiar and start fresh in this, the New World. We are, by and large, people who share the same fundamental values of God, family, work, freedom, democracy, and justice. Perhaps the greatest tie between us can be seen in the incredible number of cathedrals and churches found throughout the hemisphere. Our forefathers took the worship of God seriously.

Our struggles for independence and the fervor for liberty unleashed by these noble endeavors bind the people of the New World together. In the annals of human freedom, names like Bolivar and Martí rank equally with Jefferson and Washington. These were individuals of courage and dignity, and they left for us a legacy, a treasure beyond all imagination.

But today, a new colonialism threatens the Americas. Insurgents, armed and directed by a faraway power, seek to impose a philosophy that is alien to everything which we believe and goes against our birthright. It's a philosophy that holds truth and liberty in contempt and is a self-declared enemy of the worship of God. Wherever put into practice, it has brought repression and human deprivation. There is no clearer example of this than Cuba.

The people of Cuba have seen their strong independent labor movement—which existed before 1959—destroyed by a regime that shouts slogans about its concerns for the workers; the suppression of the church, including the right of the church to print and broadcast God's word. It is a new fascist regime, where freedom of speech and press of every opposition group has been stamped into the ground with ideological zeal. And it doesn't stop there. Young Cubans are pressed into the military and sent to faraway lands, where hundreds have been killed, to do the bidding of a foreign government, defiling their hands with the blood of others, not serving their own interests, but propping up leaders who have no popular support.

But the people of Central America, with our support, have chosen a different course — freedom, pluralism, and free economic development. They, and we, are committed to this course and will not tolerate Mr. Castro's efforts to prevent it. They, and we, want Central America for Central Americans, and that's the way its going to be.

The declining Castro economy continues to make a grotesque joke out of the ideological claims that Marxism is for the people. Nearly a quarter of a century after the Cuban revolution, the Cuban people continue to face shortages and rationing of basic necessities. Once one of the most prosperous countries in all Latin America, it is rapidly becoming the most economically backward in the region, thanks to the Communist system.

You know, they say there are only two places where communism works: in heaven, where they don't need it — [laughter] — and in hell, where they've already got it. [Laughter]

And now, there is strong evidence that Castro officials are involved in the drug trade, peddling drugs like criminals, profiting on the misery of the addicted. I would like to take this opportunity to call on the Castro regime for an accounting. Is this drug peddling simply the act of renegade officials?, or is it officially sanctioned by the present Government of Cuba? The world deserves an answer.

On this day, we celebrate Cuban independence, something special for the people of the United States as well as Cuba. Eighty-five years ago, we joined together and fought side by side, shedding our blood to free Cuba from the yoke of colonialism. Sadly, we must acknowledge that Cuba is no longer independent. But let me assure you: We will not let this same fate befall others in the hemisphere. We will not permit the Soviets and their henchmen in Havana to deprive others of their freedom. We will not allow them to do that to others. And some day Cuba, itself, will be free.

The United States stands at a crossroads. We can no longer ignore this hemisphere and simply hope for the best. Jose Martí, the hero of Cuban independence, a man who spent so many years of his life with us in the United States, said it well: "It is not enough to come to the defense of freedom with epic and intermittent efforts when it is threatened at moments that appear critical. Every moment is critical for the preservation of freedom."

Now is the time to act reasonably and decisively to avert a crisis and prevent other people from suffering the same fate as your brothers and sisters in Cuba. Ironically, our biggest obstacle is not foreign threats, but a lack of confidence and understanding. There are far too many trying to find excuses to do nothing. If we are immobilized by fear or apathy by those who suggest that because our friends are

imperfect, we shouldn't help them, if those trying to throw roadblocks in our path succeed and interpose themselves at a time when a crisis could still be averted, the American people will know who is responsible and judge them accordingly.

But as I told the Congress a few weeks ago, we've still got time, and there is much that can be done. The Congress can, for example, enact those trade and tax provisions of the Caribbean Basin Initiative that will put the power of free enterprise to work in the Caribbean. The Congress rightly believes that we must not totally focus our efforts on building the military capabilities of our friends. I agree. That's why 75 percent of what we've asked for is economic, not military aid.

But we must realize that our friends cannot be expected to stand unarmed against insurgents who've been armed to the teeth by the Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan axis. Any excuse for not providing our friends the weapons they need to defend themselves is a prescription for disaster. And again, those who advocate ignoring the legitimate defense needs of those under attack will be held accountable if our national security is put in jeopardy.

Teddy Roosevelt is known to have said, "Speak softly and carry a big stick." Well, there are plenty of soft speakers around, but that's where the similarity ends. [Laughter]

Let there be no mistake. What happens in Latin America and the Caribbean will not only affect our nation but also will shape America's image throughout the world. If we cannot act decisively so close to home, who will believe us anywhere? Knowing this, I recently nominated a special envoy, a strong leader, an individual eminently qualified to represent us in this vital region and to work closely with the Congress to ensure the fullest possible bi-partisan cooperation. He's a man in whom I have the highest confidence and respect, a man you know well, former Senator Richard Stone.

When Senator Stone is confirmed, he will be directly involved with those seeking regional solutions to the problems in Central America. We are fully supportive of good faith efforts like the so-called Contadora Group, seeking to calm tensions and avert conflict. We hope that they'll be able to make progress, and we welcome the participation of all nations in the Americas who have a vital stake in Central America.

There is, of course, one top priority item on the agenda I've yet to mention. The Cuban people, as is the case in most Communist dictatorships, have been cut off from information. Many of the folks who've come to America in recent years, for example, didn't even know that Cuba had tens of thousands of troops in Africa, much less know about the casualties they've suffered. The greatest threat to

dictators like Fidel Castro is the truth. And that's why I'm urging the Congress to approve legislation for the establishment of Radio Martí.

And let me state one thing for the record. There have been certain threats made about jamming the frequency of our domestic radio stations should we broadcast to Cuba. Such threats are evidence of the frightened and tyrannical nature of Castro's regime. Well, I can guarantee you today, we will never permit such a government to intimidate us from speaking the truth.

Cuban Americans play a unique role in the preservation of our freedom. Your Hispanic heritage enables you to better relate our good will to our friends in neighboring countries to the south. But you also have a responsibility here at home. I think one of our most dangerous problems in America is that many of our own people take our blessed liberty for granted.

In 1980, a Cuban scholar named Heberto Padilla came to the United States after spending 20 years under Castro. He marveled at what he saw, something that he hadn't even noticed during his visit here 20 years ago. When visiting the campuses of our major universities, he said, "I am struck by something that will be obvious to all Americans: No one, government official or colleague, has asked me what I was going to say in the seminars and courses that I'm going to give this fall. This is new for me. Simple, but true. It is difficult to ask anyone born into freedom to realize exactly what she or he possesses."

Well, Mr. Padilla went on to explain that freedom is invisible. It is the absence of the government censor, the absence of the secret police, the absence of an agent of repression.

You know, I couldn't help but think when those beautiful young people were here singing our two national anthems, so many — and so many of you — only know about Cuba what some of us know about, the free Cuba, from hearing us talk about it. And you have a great responsibility to make sure that your sons and daughters, growing up, know of that other Cuba and share in your hopes and dreams. And we all have a responsibility to see that our young people in America who have come along at a later time know about a Cuba that was free.

Perhaps the best gift that you can give to your fellow citizens — and you've already contributed so much to our well-being — is a better understanding of that which they cannot see — the human freedom that surrounds them. Perhaps you can help them understand something that you know instinctively — the awesome responsibility that we have as Americans. For if we fail, there will be no place for free men to seek refuge. I'm counting on you to help me explain the threats in Central America, the threats you recognize so clearly.

Each generation of Americans bears this burden, and we're grateful to have you with us, sharing this heavy weight upon your shoulders. Teddy Roosevelt, a man who fought alongside your forefathers for Cuban independence, said, "We, here in America, hold in our hands the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years, and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed, if we trail in the dust the golden hopes of men."

Today, let us pledge ourselves to meet this sacred responsibility. And let us pledge ourselves to the freedom of the noble, long suffering Cuban people. *Viva Cuba Libre. Cuba, sí, Castro, no.*

Thank you. Thank you. Thank you for having me here with you today, and *vayan con Dios.*

THE CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION . . . AN ANTIDOTE TO THE BIG LIE OF CASTRO'S CUBA

Greetings to all of you gathered tonight to support an organization which plays a vital and unique role in providing information about Cuba. I'm sorry that I can't personally join you in recognizing the achievements and the continued importance of the Cuban American National Foundation.

I'm especially pleased to have this opportunity to say a few words in support of the much needed work of the Foundation and to emphasize how very much I personally value its mission. It fills a great service to the American people and the people of other countries with information about life in Cuba and conditions in that brutally repressive society.

What impresses me about the Foundation is not merely its daily operations, but its substantial efforts in building a permanent data base on Cuba, compiling information indispensable to understand contemporary developments in Cuba. At the same time future historians will look back upon the Foundation's work as an invaluable perspective on a dark period of Cuban history. A time when an ideology alien to the Western Hemisphere held the island in a tight grip. But I have no doubt that history will also record that the efforts of courageous individuals, including many of you, finally resulted in a restoration of freedom to their beloved homeland.

There are those who do not understand the priceless value of information when it comes to waging the battle against tyranny. Yet the lesson of repression is clear. It can only exist as long as its critics are silenced and its excesses are not known.

That the people in Cuba are not permitted fundamental liberties and the basics of human rights, is a tragedy beyond words. But a greater tragedy would be for their story to be left untold. And for the fact that their story is being told we can thank those who had the foresight to found this Foundation.

Totalitarian dictators learned long ago that control and manipulation of information is essential to their power. But we know that they are also concerned about their image in other countries. To them, an organization like the Cuban American National Foundation represents a most serious threat for it proves that old axiom that knowledge is power.

Video address to The Cuban American National Foundation Gala Dinner, Miami, Florida, May 20, 1983.

The Cuban American National Foundation has provided an antidote to the big lie of Castro's Cuba. It is the principle means by which Americans and those in other nations are reminded that Cuba today is little more than a surrogate for a faraway totalitarian power which threatens the vital interests of the United States and undermines the stability of the hemisphere.

For your work I thank you and for your continued success I wish you Godspeed.

RADIO MARTI IS APPROVED

The Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act (S. 602), which I signed on October 4, 1983, was adopted with broad bi-partisan support in the Congress and responds to an important foreign policy initiative of my administration to break Fidel Castro's monopoly on news and information within Cuba. For the first time in the 25 years of Communist domination of Cuba, the Cuban people will be able to hear the truth, and to hear it in detail, about Cuban domestic and foreign policy. The Cuban people will be in a better position to make Cuba's leaders accountable for their conduct in foreign policy, economic management, and human rights.

I would have preferred to place Radio Martí under the Board for International Broadcasting instead of the Voice of America, because the distinct nature of its mission is akin to that of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Nevertheless, I am satisfied this legislation will permit the new Cuba service to broadcast programs that promote freedom in Cuba, while maintaining the historic high standards of the Voice of America for accuracy and reliability. This kind of broadcasting is 25 years overdue.

Statement by the President on the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act, October 11, 1983.

A MESSAGE TO THE CUBAN PEOPLE

On behalf of the people of the United States, I would like to extend New Year's greetings to the people of Cuba.

We know you're marking an historic anniversary on your island. Twenty-five years ago, during these early January days, you were celebrating what all of us hoped was the dawn of a new era of freedom. Most Cubans welcomed the prospects for democracy and liberty which the leaders of the Cuban revolution had promised.

Such a free and democratic Cuba would have been warmly welcomed by our own people. We're neighbors in a hemisphere that has been characterized by the quest for human freedom. Government which rests upon consent of the governed is a cardinal principle that enshrines the dignity of every individual. We share many of the same ideals, especially a common longing for a world of peace and justice. We are both proud peoples, proud of what we've achieved through our own efforts.

But tragically, the promises made to you have not been kept. Since 1959 you've been called upon to make one sacrifice after another. And for what? Doing without has not brought you a more abundant life. It has not brought you peace. And most important, it has not won freedom for your people—freedom to speak your opinions, to travel where and when you wish, to work in independent unions, and to openly proclaim your faith in God, and to enjoy all these basic liberties without having to be afraid.

Cuba's economy is incapable of providing you and your families your most elementary needs despite massive subsidies from abroad. But your leaders tell you, "Don't complain, don't expect improvement, just be ready for more sacrifice."

In the meantime, over half a million of your fellow citizens have migrated to the United States, where their talents and their hard work have made a major contribution to our society. We welcomed them, and we're proud of their success. But we have to wonder, what would Cuba's economy be like today if those people had been allowed to use their great talent, drive, and energy to help you create prosperity on your island?

The most important question remains: Where is Cuba heading? If it were heading toward greater welfare and freedom for your people, that would be wonderful. But we know prisoners of conscience con-

Radio Address to the Cuban People on the 25th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, January 5, 1984.

victed for their political activities have been languishing in Cuban prisons, deprived of all freedom for nearly a quarter of a century. Never in the proud history of your country have so many been imprisoned for so long for so-called crimes of political dissent as during these last 25 years. Others convicted of political crimes this past year can expect to be in prison well into the 21st century if the present system in Cuba survives that long.

You may not be aware of some of these things I've just told you or will tell you in this brief message. You may also be unaware of many other things you have the right to know. That's because you are systematically denied access to facts and opinions which do not agree with your government's official view. But why are your leaders so unwilling to let you hear what others think and say? If the power of truth is on their side, why should they need to censor anyone's views? Think about that.

Yet, while they supervise every word you hear, every picture you see, your authorities have free access to our news services in the United States and around the world.

We don't believe in censorship. So, to correct this injustice, the Congress of the United States has authorized the startup soon of a new radio service on the Voice of America named for your great Cuban patriot, Jose Martí.

The objective of the Radio Martí program will be simple and straightforward, tell the truth about Cuba to the Cuban people. We want you to know what you haven't been told, for example, about the situation in Grenada. When Grenada's Prime Minister Bishop was killed, the Governor-General, as well as the majority of the English-speaking Caribbean, asked for our assistance in protecting them. Why didn't they ask for Cuba's assistance? Well, the sad truth is, they wanted to be protected from the Cuban Government.

The United States and other Caribbean forces were welcomed by Grenadians as liberators. The rest of the world has seen the evidence of the popular outpouring of support for our action. Cuban lives could have been saved if your government had respected the will of the Grenadian people and not ordered your soldiers to fight to the death. Fortunately, the great majority of your personnel in Grenada did not obey those orders.

One of your government officials said in September, 1982 that 120,000 Cubans have carried out international missions through the revolutionary armed forces alone. These have been sent to countries in four continents. You're never told how many of them are killed, how many families lose loved ones for a cause they have no right to resist. What mission or vital interest does Cuba have which can pos-

sibly justify this loss of life in such faraway lands?

These are not pleasant questions, but they deserve answers. I hope you'll contemplate them with care. At the beginning of this new year, let us hope that the future will be kinder than the past. And may that better future begin soon for all you in Cuba.

Feliz Año Nuevo y que Dios les bendiga. [Happy New Year and God bless you.]

NEGOTIATING WITH CUBA AND NICARAGUA?

Q: Mr. President, what is it that prevents your administration from talking to Castro, to the Sandinistas, to the representatives of the rebels in El Salvador, I mean, to at least explore negotiations? And, I mean, would it really harm the Salvadoran Government if you made that approach?

The President: That is a little bit not our business either. The Salvadorans have appointed a peace commission that is trying to make contact—well, maybe has made contact—but trying to persuade the revolutionaries, the Marxists in their country to come and discuss with them how they can accept amnesty and join in the electoral democratic process that will be taking place soon. And so far they've had nothing but turn-downs.

On the other side in Nicaragua, it is simply reversed. It is the democratic revolutionaries who were ousted once the revolution was successful while the Marxists took over and created their totalitarian form of government. And all they want, all they're fighting for is to return to the principles of the revolution that overthrew Somoza—free elections, human rights, free press, all of those things.

It isn't a case of us not wanting to talk. Early on in my administration we made contact with Mr. Castro. Nothing came of it, and we haven't had much success since.

So, we'll continue to hope. I don't know what the result would be. I'm rather hesitant in my position now to say something that might—if you're looking far afield—might bring about some abortive undertaking that would cause great tragedy to a lot of people. But just let me say that we believe that Cuba belongs back in the Organization of American States, and it can only get there by becoming a democracy instead of the totalitarian government that it is.

Q: I thank you very much for this opportunity. Under the new Soviet leadership, do you think the Nicaraguans will say "Uncle" at this point? Will there be any shifts, do you think, in Nicaragua's situation as it relates to us?

The President: Well, we are to believe that there will be a change. And this is one of the reasons why we're hoping we can still persuade the Congress to support us in our desire to support the *contras* that I call freedom fighters there, because these are people who are participants in the revolution that overthrew Somoza. And then they were thrown out of the revolution that they had helped bring about.

They did much as Castro did in Cuba in the beginning—the Sandinistas, I mean. They simply took over that revolution, and they have violated their promise to the Organization of American States. They asked for help from the Organization in getting Somoza to step down. And he did step down at the request of the Organization, and that ended the bloodshed. And in doing that, they had promised the Organization of American States that their goal was democracy: free elections, free labor unions, freedom of the press, observance of human rights, as should be in a democracy. And they have violated every one of those promises with a totalitarian form of government.

Now, I believe that it is our place to lend help to those people of Nicaragua who still want the original revolution and want a democracy there. And we're going to continue to try to help them.

A TRIBUTE TO JOSE MARTI

I am pleased to note that today, January 28, is the 132d anniversary of the birth of the great Cuban patriot and author, José Martí. Nancy and I want to join with all those celebrating this important and inspiring event.

Throughout the struggle for freedom and democracy, men and women of extraordinary dedication have emerged to lead others in the pursuit of human dignity. José Martí was one of those heroes, and today we are proud to honor his numerous accomplishments on behalf of his fellow Cubans. His life-long desire to see an independent Cuba, free from the tyranny of colonial domination, is an ideal that remains alive today for Cuban-Americans and all those who love freedom.

"Man loves liberty," he wrote, "even if he does not know he loves it. He is driven by it and flees from where it does not exist." It is because of Martí's life-long commitment to freedom—of speech, of the press, and of political pluralism—that he is a symbol of the need for the unfettered flow of ideas. It is for this reason that his name was chosen for the radio service that will broadcast to the people of Cuba, beginning in the near future.

José Martí was one of those giants who possessed numerous talents. As an orator, journalist, lawyer, novelist, and literary critic he was able to do much to enhance and further his people's rich cultural heritage. It is certain that he will be remembered by the freedom-loving people of our world as a pioneer and leader in the movement for true human liberation.

Statement by the President on the anniversary of the birth of José Martí, January 28, 1985.

IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH CUBA?

Q: Sir, Fidel Castro said recently that he saw possibilities for improving relations with the U.S. Do you see any possibility of a U.S. — of you or the Government improving relations with Castro?

The President: Well, I'm not greatly optimistic, because we've heard this before. Early in my administration there were signals sent of this kind, and we took them up on it. And we tried to have some meetings with them, and nothing came of it. Their words are never backed by deeds. There are very simple things that they could do that would indicate that they were ready for a change.

From an interview with Bernard Weinraub and Gerald Boyd, *The New York Times*, February 11, 1985.

CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP IN CUBA?

Q: Mr. President, the question of Nicaragua and Cuba is in the minds very much of people from south Florida, as I am. If, for any reason, sir, if in Cuba there would be a change of that leadership, for instance, try to change the leadership of the regime of Cuba by overthrowing Castro, would the United States help that new government to give freedom a chance in Cuba?

The President: Well, I think all of us dream of a Cuba that will one day recognize that it should be once again a member of the American States in the Western Hemisphere and not a satellite of the Soviet Union.

Now, there have been statements by Castro at one time or another to the effect that he wanted to talk better relations with us. We followed up on those every time, and every time there's been no substance, only sound.

From an Interview with Regional Editors and Broadcasters, March 11, 1985.

CUBA SI, CASTRO NO!

I would like to extend my personal greetings to all of you gathered to commemorate Cuba's independence day.

Tonight you honor a champion of freedom and a great American, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. Ambassador Kirkpatrick follows in the tradition of Jose Martí, Cuban patriot, poet and intellectual. It is appropriate tonight to remember his passion for freedom, and reflect on his hopes for a free and independent Cuba.

A journalist and long-time resident of the United States, Martí dedicated his life to the cause of a free Cuba, to freedom of speech, of the press, to political pluralism, and respect for the dignity of man. He is a symbol of the need for the unfettered flow of ideas. It is for this reason that his name was chosen for Radio Martí.

It is our hope that Radio Martí will help defuse the war hysteria on which much of current Cuban government policy is predicated. There is no reason why the peoples of Cuba and the United States should not live together in peace and friendship. But you can't shake hands with someone whose fists are clenched.

Jose Martí once wrote that a nation is not established the way a military encampment is run. Today the most prominent achievements of Fidel Castro's regime are the militarization of Cuban society and the propagation of malice and hatred.

Cuba's young people are sent across the planet to kill and be killed in support of Soviet colonial objectives. Their resources are drained to support military adventurism and communist aggression that bring no benefit to the Cuban people.

During the last 25 years, great progress has taken place throughout the world. A tide of freedom has engulfed the Spanish-speaking world. Country after country — Spain, El Salvador, Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, and many others have turned to democratically-elected government. I have no doubt that, given a chance, the peace-loving and hard-working people of Cuba would make use of their energies in the creation of a free and prosperous Cuba. I have no doubt that, given a chance, the people of Cuba would join in this tide of freedom that covers our hemisphere. In fact, that was Martí's goal — a country where all Cubans, of all races and of all classes, could live and grow together in freedom.

I'd like to take this opportunity to thank the members and supporters of the Cuban American National Foundation. Your publications,

A Video Address to the Cuban American National Foundation gala dinner to honor Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Miami, Florida, May 18, 1985.

speakers bureau, and comprehensive research efforts make a substantial contribution to the public understanding of the challenges to freedom in this hemisphere. The Foundation, in just a few years, has become an authoritative, respected voice for the cause of a free Cuba in Washington and elsewhere.

Fidel Castro and his henchmen may attempt to whitewash their crimes, but the Cuban American National Foundation's determined, professional, and thorough research is bringing out the truth. And paraphrasing the scriptures — the truth can make us free.

My best wishes to Jeane Kirkpatrick and to all of you in the Cuban American National Foundation. *Viva Cuba Libre.*

Thank you, God bless you, and "*Cuba, si! Castro, no!*"

THE TIDE OF HISTORY IS MOVING AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

... Senator Hawkins has been an articulate champion of our cause. She's been a leading figure, for example, in the fight against drug trafficking — a menace to every family in America. She has been working within the legislative process to support those countries that are battling the drug traffickers and penalize those that are not. She's made it her business to expose the Cuban-Nicaraguan drug connection. High-level officials of these governments have been personally implicated and, in some cases, indicted.

I have a message for Fidel Castro about the drug trade. He can tell America's television network people anything he wants, but nobody in his regime is going to get away with this dirty drug business.

In Central America today our ideals are being put to the test. The freedom of our friends and neighbors to the south is at stake, as is the security of the United States. And I'm happy to say that Paula Hawkins is one elected official who didn't have to wait until Daniel Ortega went to Moscow yet again before she realized that he's a Communist.

Many of those opposing our efforts have steadfastly refused to acknowledge that the rulers of the regime in Managua are, by their own admission, hardcore Communists and consider themselves part of the international Communist movement. Many of our own elected officials act as if they don't believe the Sandinista regime is playing a significant role in the Communist insurgency in El Salvador. Incidentally, I think some of our people get confused — they're not that familiar with Central America — when we talk Sandinista government and *contras* or the freedom fighters. I'm going to quit using both terms and start calling them what they are — it's the freedom fighters against the Communists.

Now, this role that they're playing in the insurgency in El Salvador — this despite the fact that top defectors from the El Salvadoran guerillas have been telling us they receive guidance, training, funds, and vast amounts of arms and ammunition from their Communist friends in Nicaragua. Nicaragua today equals aggression, pure and simple. For the sake of peace in Central America, for the security of our own country, we cannot permit these Communists to succeed.

Closing our eyes and making a wish, which seems to be about the only course of action our opponents will support, won't make this threat go away. We need to assist those governments targeted by the Communists, and it's imperative that we support those brave indi-

Remarks at a fundraiser for Senator Paula Hawkins, May 29, 1985.

viduals who are putting their lives on the line to bring democracy to Nicaragua.

The freedom fighters are a shield for Nicaragua's democratic neighbors, preventing the Communist regime from focusing its full strength on subversion and aggression. The freedom fighters are the best hope for democracy in that troubled country. Those who would have us abandon them and the people of Nicaragua are cutting off our chances to avoid a major crisis in Central America.

Lincoln's words ring as true today as they did over a hundred years ago: "Our defense," he said, "is in the preservation of the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors."

And let's recognize the truth that Fidel Castro is behind much of the trouble in Central America. His consuming hatred of America and his ideological commitment to Communist tyranny has impoverished his country and oppressed its people. Thomas Jefferson once wrote, "Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day." Well, the Communists understand this, and that's why they're deathly afraid of the free flow of information. And that's why I'm especially proud that, at long last, Radio Marti is on the air. Now, there's a certain fellow with a beard who isn't so happy about Radio Marti — [laughter] — but at least for now Radio Marti's signal is getting through.

I firmly believe the tide of history is moving away from communism and into the warm sunlight of human freedom. To win this struggle, to preserve our way of life, to maintain the peace, we must be strong and true to our ideals. And together we can meet the challenge. Future generations, not only in the United States but throughout the hemisphere, will be grateful for what we do today. We're passing to them the most precious gift of all — liberty.

CASTRO'S CUBA IS A TERRORIST STATE

... The reason we haven't had time to discuss the issues that I'd originally hoped to address this morning has to do with our hostages and what all of America have been through during recent weeks.

Yet my purpose today goes even beyond our concern over the recent outrages in Beirut, El Salvador or the Air India tragedy, the Narita bombing or the Jordanian Airlines hijacking. We must look beyond these events because I feel it is vital not to allow them — as terrible as they are — to obscure an even larger and darker terrorist menace.

There is a temptation to see the terrorist act as simply the erratic work of a small group of fanatics. We make this mistake at great peril, for the attacks on America, her citizens, her allies, and other democratic nations in recent years do form a pattern of terrorism that has strategic implications and political goals. And only by moving our focus from the tactical to the strategic perspective, only by identifying the pattern of terror and those behind it, can we hope to put into force a strategy to deal with it.

So, let us go to the facts. Here is what we know: In recent years, there's been a steady and escalating pattern of terrorist acts against the United States and our allies and Third World nations friendly toward our interests. The number of terrorist acts rose from about 500 in 1983 to over 600 in 1984. There were 305 bombings alone last year — that works out to an average of almost one a day. And some of the most vicious attacks were directed at Americans or United States property and installations. And this pattern has continued throughout 1985, and in most cases innocent civilians are the victims of the violence.

At the current rate, as many as 1,000 acts of terrorism will occur in 1985. Now, that's what we face unless civilized nations act together to end this assault on humanity.

Now, three other governments, along with Iran and Libya, are actively supporting a campaign of international terrorism against the United States, her allies, and moderate Third World states.

First, North Korea. The extent and crudity of North Korean violence against the United States and our ally, South Korea, are a matter of record. Our aircraft have been shot down; our servicemen have been murdered in border incidents; and 2 years ago, four members of the South Korean Cabinet were blown up in a bombing in Burma by North Korean terrorists — a failed attempt to assassinate President

Remarks given before the American Bar Association's Annual Convention, July 8, 1985.

Chun. This incident was just one more of an unending series of attacks directed against the Republic of Korea by North Korea.

Now, what is not readily known or understood is North Korea's wider links to the international terrorist network. There isn't time today to recount all of North Korea's efforts to foster separatism, violence, and subversion in other lands well beyond its immediate borders. But to cite one example, North Korea's efforts to spread separatism and terrorism in the free and prosperous nation of Sri Lanka are a deep and continuing source of tension in South Asia.

And this is not even to mention North Korea's involvement here in our own hemisphere, including a secret arms agreement with the former Communist government in Grenada. I will also have something to say about North Korea's involvement in Central America in a moment.

And then there is Cuba, a nation whose government has, since the 1960's, openly armed, trained, and directed terrorists operating on at least three continents.

This has occurred in Latin America. The OAS has repeatedly passed sanctions against Castro for sponsoring terrorism in places and countries too numerous to mention.

This has also occurred in Africa. President Carter openly accused the Castro government of supporting the training of Katangan terrorists from Angola in their attacks on Zaire.

And even in the Middle East, Castro himself has acknowledged that he actively assisted the Sandinistas in the early seventies when they were training in the Middle East with terrorist factions of the PLO.

And finally there is the latest partner of Iran, Libya, North Korea, and Cuba in a campaign of international terror — the Communist regime in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas not only sponsor terror in El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Honduras — terror that led recently to the murder of four United States marines, two civilians, and seven Latin Americans — they provide one of the world's principal refuges for international terrorists.

... Consider for just a moment that in addition to establishing strong international alliances with Cuba and Libya, including the receipt of enormous amounts of arms and ammunition, the Sandinistas are also receiving extensive assistance from North Korea. Nor are they reluctant to acknowledge their debt to the government of North Korea dictator Kim Il-sŏng. Both Daniel and Humberto Ortega have recently paid official and state visits to North Korea to seek additional assistance and more formal relations.

So, we see the Nicaraguans tied to Cuba, Libya, and North Korea. And that leaves only Iran. What about ties to Iran? Well, yes, only recently the Prime Minister of Iran visited Nicaragua bearing expressions of solidarity from the Ayatollah for the Sandinista Communists. ... So, there we have it — Iran, Libya, North Korea, Cuba, Nicaragua — continents away, tens of thousands of miles apart, but the same goals and objectives. I submit to you that the growth in terrorism in recent years results from the increasing involvement of these states in terrorism in every region of the world. This is terrorism that is part of a pattern, the work of a confederation of terrorist states. Most of the terrorists who are kidnaping and murdering American citizens and attacking American installations are being trained, financed, and directly or indirectly controlled by a core group of radical and totalitarian governments . . .

MESSAGE ON OCTOBER 10, 1985

I proudly salute the Cuban American National Foundation, its distinguished Chairman, Jorge Mas, and Junta Patriotica Cubana, and all their members and supporters as you gather to celebrate a day dear to the hearts of all who are bound to the beautiful Island of Cuba by ties of blood and memory and affection. For on October 10, 1868, the Cuban people began their long and painful struggle for freedom and independence. Although this heroic effort lasted for decades, the Cuban people never despaired, they never lost sight of their goal: to see their beloved land a colony no longer. They fought and sacrificed so that one day Cuba could hold its head high among the nations of the world — independent and free. All Americans can take pride in the assistance this country gave to the Cuban patriots in their struggle.

Since that time, as I need not remind you, a second and even darker night of colonial oppression has settled over the Pearl of the Antilles. The blood of Cuban youth is now being spilled on distant continents to advance the ambitions of Cuba's new colonial masters. But you and I know that the present darkness must surely give way to a new dawn. For the dream of freedom and independence has not died in the hearts of the Cuban people. The great Cuban patriot, José Martí, gave us the reason why in immortal words: "Man loves liberty," he said, "even if he does not know that he loves it. He is driven by it and he runs from wherever it does not exist."

You like millions of others who have fled tyranny and oppression, know from unforgettable personal experience the truth of those words. That is why you help to renew my confidence that our common dream for a free Cuba, no long a Captive Nation, will come to pass. For that dream still burns as brightly as ever in the hearts of a million Cuban Americans. Viva Cuba Libre! God bless you.

Message of President Ronald Reagan to the Cuban Community in Commemoration of the Cry of Yara, October 10, 1985.

THE KENNEDY-KHRUSHCHEV PACT AND NICARAGUA

I must address recent disturbing events in a country close to our borders — the communist dictatorship in Nicaragua. Nicaragua today is an imprisoned nation; it is a nation condemned to unrelenting cruelty by a clique of very cruel men; by a dictator in designer glasses and his comrades, drunk with power and all its brutal applications. They stripped the Nicaraguan people of their rights by a state decree last October 15th. Yet that decree only made official, and by their reckoning permissible, the theft of liberty that took place years ago.

No institution more deeply embodies or glorifies or seeks to perfect the moral and spiritual goodness of man than the Church in all of its denominations. Yet, in Nicaragua, the Church is the enemy. Protestant ministers and lay people have been arrested, interrogated, and tormented at secret police headquarters — some forced to stand naked in very cold rooms for long periods. A tiny population of Jews was bullied and driven out.

Cardinal Obando y Bravo, a great hero of truth and courage, is prevented from speaking freely to his flock. The State Police have expelled foreign priests and drafted seminarians who are virtual prisoners in the Sandinistas' armed forces.

And the Catholic Church's newspaper has been seized and Radio Catolica censored, sometimes shut down entirely. The same dictators who insulted Pope John Paul II, also stopped Radio Catolica from broadcasting a letter from the Pope and this Beatitude: "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven." The truth is, these men are nothing but thugs, a gang of hard-core communists to whom the word of God is a declaration of liberation that must be stamped out.

Their denial of rights, their trampling of human dignity, their wrecking of an economy with suffocating socialist controls, all hurt and deeply offend us. But there's a cause for deeper concern — the spectre of Nicaragua transformed into an international aggressor nation, a base for subversion and terror.

Some 3,000 Cuban military personnel now lead and advise the Nicaraguan forces down to the smallest combat units. The Cubans fly the Soviet assault helicopters that gun down Nicaraguan freedom fighters. Over 7,000 Cubans, Soviets, East Germans, Bulgarians, Libyans, PLO and other bloc and terror groups are turning Managua into a breeding ground for subversion. A delegation of Nicaraguans is

A Radio Address by President Ronald Reagan, December 14, 1985

now in Iran; Nicaragua's border violations against Honduras and Costa Rica continue; and Nicaragua's connection with the recent terrorist attack against Colombia's Supreme Court is now clear.

What are we to do about such aggressions? What are we to do about Cuba's willful disregard of the 1962 Kennedy-Khrushchev understanding of which President Kennedy said, "... if Cuba is not used for the export of aggressive communist purposes, there will be peace in the Caribbean."?

Well, the answer is, more than we're doing now. If Nicaragua can get material support from communist states and terrorist regimes and prop up a hated communist dictatorship, should not the forces fighting for liberation, now numbering over 20,000, be entitled to more effective help in their struggle for freedom?

Yes; and to reinforce this message, I sent my new National Security Advisor, John Poindexter, this week to visit the Central American democracies and make clear our commitment to a democratic outcome in Nicaragua.

Those who struggle for freedom look to America. If we fail them in their hour of need, we fail ourselves as the last, best hope of liberty.

Until next week, thanks for listening. God bless you.

PUBLICATIONS

by the Cuban American National Foundation:

U.S. Radio Broadcasting to Cuba: Policy Implications A study for the proposal of a new U.S. government radio station for broadcasting to Cuba [Radio Martí], including discussion of the propaganda strategies of the Soviet Union and the Castro regime. Covers the information environment in Cuba and the impact of Radio Martí on it. Analyzes options for administration and programming. (Out of Print).

The Cuban Scene: Censors and Dissenters by Professor Carlos Ripoll. This article describes the mechanisms of intellectual repression under the Castro government. Outlines the history of the Cuban government policy toward literature since 1959, and of the effects of these policies on Cuban literature. Reprinted from *Partisan Review*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 4. Distributed free of charge.

Castro and the Bankers: The Mortgaging of a Revolution — 1983 Update by Ernesto F. Betancourt and Wilson P. Dizard III. Analysis of the Cuban government's debts to Western banks and the Soviet Union. Describes the sources and uses of the Castro regime's foreign debts, and discusses the consequences of a default or rescheduling. Price \$2.00.

U.S. Options in Central America by Eduardo Ulibarri, Editor of the prestigious *La Nación* of Costa Rica. Analyzes the current situation in seven Central American states. Discusses alternatives for U.S. policy makers in light of domestic unrest and outside intervention. (Out of print).

The Revolution on Balance by Hugh Thomas. Ten years after the publication of his monumental *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom*, Lord Thomas looks at the achievements and prospects of Fidel Castro's revolution. Price \$2.00.

Cuba and the Cubans (Cuba y los Cubanos) by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. The views of the former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations on both the Castro revolution and the Cuban-American community. Distributed free of charge.

Castro's Narcotics Trade. A compendium of articles on Fidel Castro's involvement with the smuggling of drugs into the United States and his connections with arms smuggling and terrorism in Latin America. Distributed free of charge.

Thinking About Cuba: Unscrambling Cuban Messages by Mark Falcoff, Resident Fellow at the Center for Hemispheric Studies, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research in Washington, D.C. Dr. Falcoff makes a major contribution to the debate on U.S.-Cuban relations. Distributed free of charge.

Castro, Israel and the PLO by David J. Kopilow. Describes Fidel Castro's policy toward Israel, the Cuban Jewish community and his relationships with the PLO. Price \$2.00.

Castro and the Narcotics Connection [88 page Special Report]. A comprehensive report about the use of narcotics as a means of financing and promoting terrorism by the Cuban government. The Special Report makes extensive use of Congressional hearings, media coverage, and declassified reports by the Departments of State and Justice. Distributed free of charge.

Cuba as a Model and a Challenge by Kenneth N. Skoug, Jr., Director, Office of Cuban Affairs, U.S. Department of State. A thoughtful analysis that looks beyond Castro's public pronouncements to the real nature and actions of his regime. Distributed free of charge.

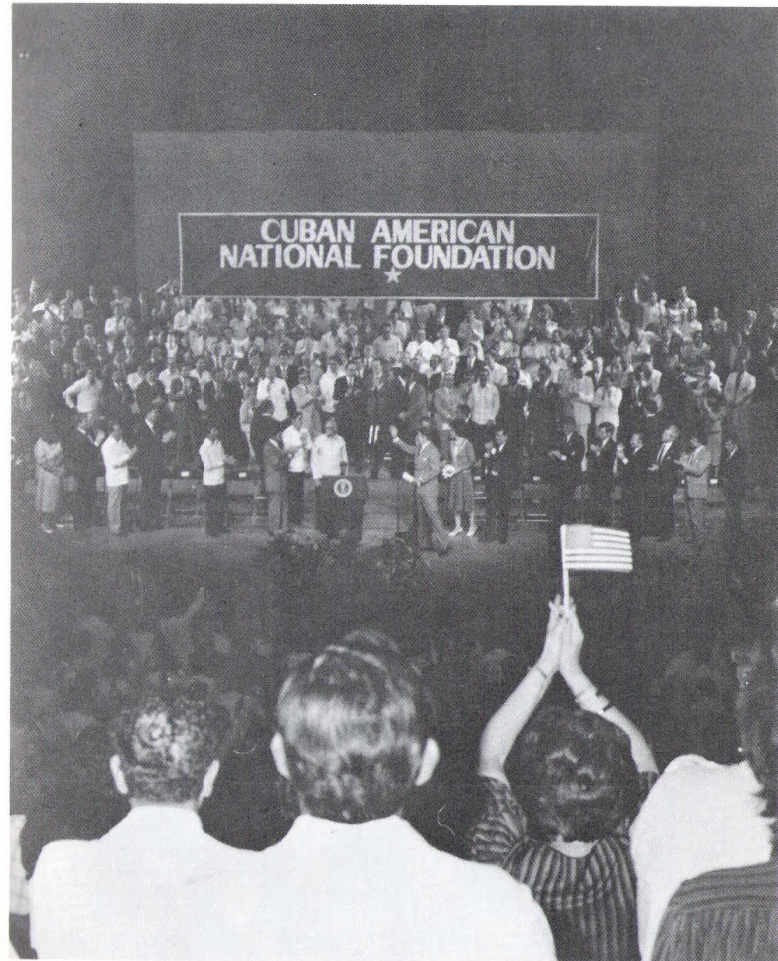
Cuba's Financial Crisis: The Secret Report from the Cuban National Bank. This 84-page report, prepared in February 1985 for Cuba's Western creditors as part of its efforts to reschedule its foreign debt, describes the benefits of Cuba's trade with the Soviets, details the deterioration of the island's economy and requests trade and other concessions from the West. Dr. Jorge A. Sanguinetti, formerly with the Cuban Central Planning Board, provides an analytical introduction. Price \$3.00.

The Children of Mariel from Shock to Integration: Cuban Refugee Children in South Florida Schools by Helga Silva. Describes the impact on South Florida's public schools of the more than 15,000 Cuban refugee children who arrived in the 1980 Mariel boatlift. Details the bilingual education programs Dade County used to integrate the new students into its public schools. Price \$3.00.

The Kennedy-Khrushchev Pact and the Sandinistas by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. Analyzes the 1962 agreement that guaranteed the security of Fidel Castro's regime and the implications for the Western Hemisphere of a similar accord between Washington and Managua. In English and Spanish. Price \$3.00.

Harnessing the Intellectuals: Censoring Writers and Artists in Today's Cuba by Carlos Ripoll, Professor of Literature, Queens College, New York, chronicles the plight of several Cuban Journalists, writers and artists who have spent years in prison as a result. The report describes the Cuban revolution's intellectual policy. Price \$3.00.

Nicaragua's Slow March to Communism, by Joshua Muravchik. An overview of the background of the Sandinistas and the growing influence of Cuba and the Soviet Union on Sandinistas domestic and foreign policies. Describes the conflict with the church, the private sector and the Leninist nature of the Nicaraguan government today. Joshua Muravchik holds a doctorate in international relations from Georgetown University. He writes frequently on political issues for various journals and newspaper. Price \$3.00



Copies of this publication are available for \$4.00 from the
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REAGAN ON CUBA

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— Jack Kemp, U.S. House of Representatives